

Congress does not have the political will to tackle the budget deficit, a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution is nothing more than an empty promise.

As optimistic as I am about the opportunities this Republican Congress has before it, I am sobered by a recent event. I want to underscore this because I believe many have lost sight of it; that is, the demise of the Bipartisan Commission on Entitlements and Tax Reform. The Commission set out to tackle an enormous task. That task was to address the Federal Government's long-term spending commitments and to determine what the fiscal impact would be if this spending were left unchecked.

According to the Commission's report, the Commission was created,

*** to frame the long-term issue, educate the American people and policy leaders about the problem and potential choices, and to make specific recommendations on how to bring our future entitlement commitments and revenues into balance.

Now, Mr. President, the Commission, despite the dedication of all of its participants, was unable to agree on a specific set of recommendations on how to address these issues. In explaining the inability of the Commission to come to a consensus on this issue, a letter signed by the chairman, Senator KERREY, and the vice-chairman, Senator DANFORTH, states,

*** this result should not be surprising in an environment where political leaders in both parties are focusing more on short-term initiatives than on long-term, politically sensitive economic and social issues that sit on the horizon.

I submit that the inability of the Commission to reach a consensus on these very important issues is proof that the Congress still does not yet have the political will to tackle the tough issues which it will need to balance the budget.

Mr. President, that statement attributed to the Commission was made after the November elections.

It is also important to note some statistics which are contained in the budget just submitted by the President which relate to the proposal to exempt certain Federal programs from being covered by this amendment. According to the President's budget, interest on the debt, defense, and mandatory spending combined make up 82 percent of the Federal budget in 1995, and this percentage will grow to 85 percent of the budget by the year 2000. Unless reform of all aspects of Federal expenditures occurs, projected outlays for entitlements and interest on the debt will consume all revenues of the Federal Government by the year 2012. That is only 17 years away. With those facts looming before us, how can the Congress decide today what should and should not be taken off the table during the debate on balancing the budget. The Congress must look at every aspect of the budget, politically sensitive items included.

A balanced budget can come only through leadership and compromise.

This compromise must come from each one of us. But, more importantly, it must come from those we represent—those who do not want their taxes raised any more than we want to raise them—those who do not want their benefits cut any more than we want to cut them. In the end there is no easy answer, and there never will be. Regardless of the procedural restraint in place, where there is political will to create a balanced budget we will create one, where there is will to avoid one, we will avoid it. The finding of the Bipartisan Commission I mentioned earlier indicates that the Congress still does not have the will to address the tough issues. As I stated during the debate on a balanced budget amendment last year, a vote for this balanced budget constitutional amendment is not a vote for a balanced budget, it is a vote for a fig leaf.

If I am skeptical about the ability of a gimmick to fix our budget, I am not skeptical about the ability of the people to demand and keep demanding that we respond to the budget challenge with real action. Real action is not a vote for an amendment to the Constitution which calls for a balanced budget by the year 2002. Real action is rolling up our sleeves and getting our fiscal house in order. Real action is working together, in a bipartisan fashion, to create a balanced budget, not to simply promise one. Real action means ending some programs—programs with popular appeal and vocal constituencies. Balancing the budget will result in an impact on each and every one of us—do we have the will to do that?

Bipartisan negotiation, leadership, and compromise have been the cornerstones upon which we have built all effective decisions on tough issues since the formation of our Government. Compromises are difficult to reach, but they are not impossible to reach. We have all just received the President's budget. The ensuing debate on the budget will provide the chance for the Congress to work together to balance the Federal programs of this budget. I hope the Congress does not miss this opportunity to debate the real issue of balancing the budget. Voting for a balanced budget amendment is easy, working to balance the budget will not be.

Although I will not support the legislation put before the Senate promoting a balanced budget amendment, I stand ready to get to the necessary work of crafting a long-term, sound fiscal policy which addresses the need to balance the budget. As chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee I am committed to a thorough review of Federal programs to determine if they are wisely spending the taxpayers' money and whether or not programs have outlived their usefulness. Some programs are undoubtedly in need of reduction, and a few should be abolished.

But successful, long-term fiscal responsibility will not only depend upon program cuts. It demands a radical

transformation in the way we do business as a government. My home State of Oregon has embarked upon a truly exciting effort to end the obsession with program compliance—and all the paperwork and bureaucracy which comes with that obsession—and instead making success government's goal. Success in training workers for new jobs. Success in getting families off public assistance. Success in reducing teen pregnancies. Government can and should do more with less. It is my hope that Congress will lead the way in making this a reality.

The Congress should not promise to the people that it will balance the Federal budget through a procedural gimmick. If the Congress has the political will to balance the budget, it should simply use the power that it already has and do so. There is no substitute for political will and there never will be. I yield the floor.

Mr. PRYOR addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arkansas.

TRIBUTE TO J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT

Mr. PRYOR. I thank the Chair for recognizing me this morning.

Mr. President, we, in the U.S. Senate, are often very fortunate to be witnesses to history as it is being made, and we often talk of the need to have a vision for America, for the country, for our Government, for our world and for our people. But very few of us ever, in and among ourselves, make history—very few of us. We often fall short of articulating a true vision, settling instead to seize upon symbols as a substitute.

With that in mind, Mr. President, this morning I rise to pay tribute today to a former Member of this body who has repeatedly made history in his lifetime and who dare to articulate a vision throughout his lifetime. That man is J. William Fulbright, a native son of Arkansas, who served with the with distinction in the Congress for 32 years, 30 of those years as a Member of this body, the U.S. Senate.

He loved this body. Senator Fulbright died early this morning, and I would like to take a few moments of the Senate's time to remind the people of this body and the people of this Capitol and certainly the people of this land of the significant impact this remarkable human being had on the lives of Americans.

J. William Fulbright was born in the year 1905 to a family that became quite prominent in northwestern Arkansas. His father was a banker, a successful businessman, while his mother ran the Northwest Arkansas Times, the newspaper in Fayetteville. In fact, Mr. President, the public library in Fayetteville, AR, bears the name of Roberta Fulbright Library.

After graduating from the University of Arkansas at Fayetteville, Bill Fulbright attended Oxford University on a Rhodes scholarship, an experience that we will see later having a profound effect upon his life and his philosophy and, yes, upon his vision.

After earning his law degree from George Washington University, he joined the antitrust division in the Justice Department where Senator Fulbright, or Bill Fulbright at that time, helped to prosecute the landmark Schechter case, the "chicken case," as we call it, which helped establish the boundaries of Federal authority to regulate interstate versus intrastate commerce. It was a landmark case.

In 1936, Bill Fulbright returned to his native State of Arkansas to teach law at Fayetteville and there, 3 years later, he was appointed president of the University of Arkansas. At age 34, he was the youngest university president in America, and he gained national attention at that time for his efforts to raise the educational standards of not only the University of Arkansas but all educational institutions in America.

In 1943, Bill Fulbright won a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives, and he was appointed to the House Foreign Affairs Committee. He wasted little time making history.

In the spring of that year, he introduced a resolution that, even by today's standards, was remarkable for its brevity and its directness. Yet, it was powerful as a vision of young Bill Fulbright. The resolution read as follows, and it is one sentence:

Resolved, That the House of Representatives expresses itself as favoring the creation of an appropriate machinery with power adequate to prevent future aggression and to maintain lasting peace, and as favoring participation of the United States therein.

Mr. President, this was the Fulbright resolution. It became known as that and soon it passed overwhelmingly by both Houses of the Congress.

This Fulbright resolution is credited as being one of the very major stepping stones that led to the creation of the United Nations. And with this resolution, a very young Bill Fulbright brought an official end to longstanding American policies of isolationism and made our country formally commit to becoming a willing, ongoing partner in global affairs.

Bill Fulbright did not stop there. The very next year, he served as a delegate to an international conference, at which officials from 17 nations sought to find a way to reconstruct the educational institutions of the world in the wake of the ravages of World War II. Congressman Fulbright then was unanimously named as chairman of this Congress, and he presented a four-point proposal that became the foundations for the U.N. Economic and Social Council.

In April 1945, Mr. President, delegates of 50 nations gathered in San Francisco to draft a charter of the United Nations Approval by the U.S.

Senate became critical at that point, so critical that President Harry Truman came to this body and stood in the well of the U.S. Senate and pled with his former colleagues in the Senate on July 2, 1945, to persuade this body to adopt this charter. President Truman briefly sketched the history of the U.N. effort, and he mentioned the passage of the Fulbright resolution.

President Truman said that this resolution had played a major part in shaping certain proposals, and the Senate approved the charter by an 89 to 2 vote. It took effect October 24, 1945.

I might add, Mr. President, that this year in June in San Francisco, 50 years later, there will be a commemoration, or a birthday, an anniversary of the founding of the United Nations.

By this time, Congressman Fulbright had become Senator Fulbright, after winning a Senate seat in the 1944 elections. He did not rest upon his laurels, and despite being named to the Banking and Currency Committee instead of the Foreign Relations Committee, he did not abandon his interest in global relations.

During his very first year in the Senate, Senator Fulbright sponsored legislation that became one of the major accomplishments of his distinguished legislative career. This bill established a program that exchanged scholars, students, and educators between the United States and other countries, and the program eventually was called the Fulbright Scholarship Program. It drew heavily from Senator Fulbright's experiences as a Rhodes scholar and from his belief and deep feeling that academic exchange would contribute to better understanding among all countries.

Foreign students coming to the United States received money for travel and sometimes received an allowance, modest as it might be, while tuition and books were provided through scholarships from American colleges and universities.

While he fervently believed in the value of such exchange programs, Senator Fulbright also knew full well that his plan had a number of hurdles to overcome—financial, governmental, partisan. The U.S. Treasury was not in a position to directly finance such a venture at a time of massive war debts.

Meanwhile, the State Department voiced its reservations, as had Senate Republicans. But Senator Fulbright was undaunted, and he persevered. He came up with a very novel way of financing this venture by combining the need to fund it with the problem of disposing of surplus U.S. equipment overseas that had been left behind.

Under Senator Fulbright's plan, any country that purchased part of the U.S. surplus would then be eligible to participate in the exchange program. He won the support of the State Department by giving the State Department greater control over the program disbursements. He won the support of the Congress by getting an endorsement

from former President Herbert Hoover. President Truman signed the Fulbright Scholarship Program into being August 1, 1946. It was another tribute to the vision and to the brilliance and to the perseverance of J. William Fulbright and his fervent belief that education and communication hold the power to save man from himself.

Bill Fulbright's career was not without controversy, Mr. President. He certainly did not shrink from it. He once suggested that President Truman resign from office, but soon he suggested that President Truman was absolutely correct, even a year later, and he defended Harry Truman in the wake of President Truman's firing of Gen. Douglas MacArthur and bringing him back from the Far East. He sparred repeatedly with Joseph McCarthy, a former Member of this body, defending against McCarthy's attacks on the Fulbright Scholarship Program and then defending himself from McCarthy's attacks and charges that he, Senator Fulbright, might be subversive because Senator Fulbright's first wife belonged to and was active in, of all things, the Red Cross.

Ultimately, Senator Fulbright led the way in getting the Senate to condemn Senator McCarthy in 1954 for his red-baiting tactics. In doing so, he helped deliver this body out of one of its sadder chapters in history.

In 1959, Mr. President, Senator Fulbright became chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and by the time he left the Senate in 1974, he had held the title of chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee longer than any previous Senator.

Yes, he was controversial. He was a controversial chairman, and he dared to insist that cold war relations should not be dictated solely by militarism. He warned all of us in 1961 that our efforts in Vietnam were doomed to failure as long as we placed our stress on military rather than long-term economic and educational assistance, a warning that now seems prophetic. He placed his reservations aside to support the Gulf of Tonkin resolution when he felt that American soldiers were threatened and then had the courage to publicly call that action his most humiliating experience. He became one of the country's most vocal critics of that war even though it cost him his long-time friendship with Lyndon B. Johnson, and many believe it ultimately might have cost him his seat in the Senate.

J. William Fulbright did not believe that his return to private life meant the end of his need to articulate a vision for his beloved America. He continued to write books and to give lectures about how he felt government could be run more effectively, how countries could better deal with one another, and about the arrogance of power.

Those of us who were fortunate to know him and even to be close to him

during some of his life during those years knew him as a man of continued brilliance, of foresight and wisdom, and he continued to command our respect.

Mr. President, when the Fulbright Program was threatened, when it was endangered by cuts, he took to the phones in recent years to galvanize support. He roamed the Halls of the House of Representatives and the Senate for his beloved Fulbright Program. After all, all over the world, many leaders of the free world had been called Fulbright scholars.

We will miss this great man, Mr. President. I first met him when he was speaking at the Ouachita County Courthouse in Camden, AR. The year was 1944, and he was seeking his seat in the Senate. I was 10 years old at that time, but I could still take you to that corner in Camden, AR, where I first had the opportunity and the privilege of meeting J. William Fulbright. I just knew that I had met a great person. And through these many years, I was never quite able to ever bring myself to call him "Bill." To me, he was and he will always be Senator Bill Fulbright.

He spent his life attempting to end the obsession with war. He spent his life attempting to educate us that using war as the solution for our conflicts was a course of action that would bring us nothing in the end but sorrow. We will miss this great man, this great Senator, and this great person who has contributed so much to peace in the world and understanding among all men.

Mr. President, I thank the Chair. I yield the floor.

Mr. BIDEN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware, under the previous order, is recognized to speak for up to 30 minutes.

Mr. BIDEN. I thank the Chair.

Before I begin what I wish to speak to, let me compliment my friend from Arkansas. I had the great privilege of being a young Senator serving with Chairman Fulbright. I did not know him nearly as well, nor was I as close to him, by any stretch of the imagination, as my friend from Arkansas, but it was a real honor and privilege and, let me say, something that I tell my children and will tell my grandchildren and I am sure they will tell their children, that their father and grandfather had a chance to serve with such a great man.

I will tell you one anecdote in my relationship with him. I remember him as a young man. I had just been elected. I was 29 years old. I had not turned 30 yet. I came down here to meet with what was then referred to as the old bulls of the Senate. I went around and made my obligatory stops at the offices. Senator Fulbright asked me what I wanted to do, and I said how very much I would like to be on the Foreign Relations Committee.

I say to my friend from Arkansas, back in those days I do not think there was anybody on the committee under the age of 55 and it was only senior

Senators, very senior Senators who were on the committee, made up of great men like Jack Javits and Mike Mansfield, Bill Fulbright, Stuart Symington, Hubert Humphrey, et cetera. And I realized it was a reach, and I did not expect to get on as soon as I did. But I just wanted to let him know.

He said, "Why do you want to be on the Foreign Relations Committee?" I said, "Mr. Chairman, one of the great concerns I have is our foreign policy, American foreign policy. It is my avocation, my interest. Quite frankly," I said, "Mr. Chairman, if as a Senator I would not be able to deal with foreign policy, there would be no reason to run for the U.S. Senate; I might as well run for Governor. But the reason I am here is because I care about that."

He looked at me, and he said, "Well, I understand your sincerity. Let me think about it." So I saw him coming over on the subway a little while later, a week later, and he said, "I thought about it." He said, "You really want to affect foreign policy?" I said, "Yes, I would like to eventually, Mr. Chairman." He said, "Why don't you go see my colleague, Senator McClellan." I said, "I beg your pardon, Mr. Chairman. He is the No. 2 man"—then was about to be the chairman—"of the Appropriations Committee." And I said, "That's appropriations." He said, "Yes, but that's where foreign policy is made."

I will never forget that.

Mr. PRYOR. A good story.

Mr. BIDEN. And he did support me, I might add, to go on Foreign Relations. But he told me if I really wanted to affect foreign policy, I should go with the other Senator from Arkansas, the chairman of the Appropriations Committee.

TRIBUTE TO J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT

Mr. BUMPERS. Mr. President, I come this morning sadly to eulogize one of the truly great political and intellectual giants of my home State of Arkansas. In a way, it is especially difficult for me because in 1974 I ran against him for the Senate.

J.W. "Bill" Fulbright had been a Congressman, president of the University of Arkansas, U.S. Senator, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, and an icon to millions of people, not just in Arkansas, but all over the world.

In 1974 Senator Fulbright had served in the Senate for 30 years and was prepared to run for his sixth term. I was Governor of my State, completing my second term, and I can tell my colleagues that being a Senator is infinitely more enjoyable and less stressful than being Governor. I was not interested in running for the House of Representatives, nor was I particularly interested in returning to the practice of law.

While I had been a great fan of Bill Fulbright's, I was late in opposing the war in Vietnam, long after he opposed it. I had admired his courage in speaking out against that war almost from

its inception. I suppose now would be a good time to say that he once told me that his vote on the Gulf of Tonkin resolution was the worst vote he ever cast, and that he regretted it.

But I had to make a decision about the Senate race, and I had to make it by March 1974. So I made what was one of the most difficult decisions of my life—to run against him in the Democratic primary. There are people, needless to say, who never forgave me for it, and I understand that.

I do not mean this to sound self-serving, but it is not terribly uncommon for people to come up to me and say, "How does Arkansas elect the quality of people that it does?" And they always include Bill Fulbright's name. We have a saying in Arkansas that we defeat better men than most States have a chance to vote for.

So while our relationship was not close even before that primary election, it was certainly not close afterward. Happily, about 5 years ago, we had a 2-hour luncheon, which I would have to say was one of the highlights of my life. It was not spectacular from a content standpoint, but we obviously liked each other and regretted that we had not been closer the first 15 years I was here.

Out of that luncheon grew a very, very warm friendship, not only with him, but with his beloved wife Harriet, who is one of the truly superior people I have ever known.

I might say at this point that Harriet has been as loyal, faithful, caring, and compassionate during Senator Fulbright's illness as anybody could possibly be.

Mr. President, I will introduce more formal remarks into the RECORD sometime in the near future, but I hastened here this morning after his death last night to say that I know I speak for all of the people of my State in expressing our genuine sadness at the loss of this truly great man.

Bill Fulbright believed in public service. I was just a youngster when he was first elected to the Senate, but in the time I did know him, while I was Governor and in the past few years, I never heard him express any idea that was not noble, an idea that was not motivated by his commitment to his country, or an idea that would not inspire our young people to choose politics as a career. Though he did not suffer fools gladly, he was not a cynical man.

I came here to say he was a great icon, a great public servant, and a brilliant man who loved his country beyond the love of anything else. I will personally miss him and the warm relationship we had been enjoying.

I yield the floor, Mr. President.

CRIME AND JUSTICE IN AMERICA

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I rise this morning to begin speaking on the issue of crime and justice in America and the Democratic crime bill, the Clinton